

R E M A R K S
ON THE
D E F E N C E
OF THE
Present ADMINISTRATION.

Second EDITION.

WITH AN
A P O S T I L E
ON A
P A M P H L E T
Just Publish'd, Entituled,
CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
Present STATE of Affairs
IN
E U R O P E.

REMARKS
ON A
PAMPHLET
ENTITL'D A
DEFENCE
OF THE
MEASURES
OF THE
Present ADMINISTRATION.

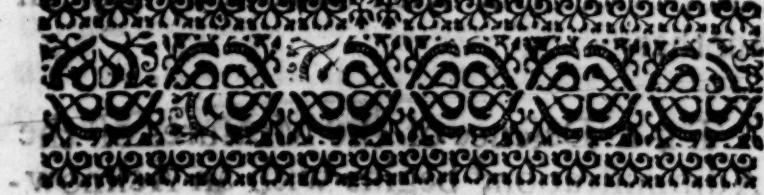
Viewing present, past and future,
As thou keepst eternal watch,
Janus say, for thou art neuter,
Hast thou seen our *Walpole's* Match ?
Pbæbus in thy radiant Journey,
Canst thou to a greater turn thee ?

Mitchel. D. Courant.

— *Nihil est quod credere de se
Non possit, cum laudatur, Diis aqua potestas.* Juv.

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R E M A R K S
ON THE
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I T is observ'd by those who attend the *Old-Baily*, that more Criminals are convicted by their own Evidence than by the Testimony of those who appear against them. And the most infallible Method of discovering the real Designs, and knowing the very Hearts of Men, is to compare their Actions with

their Actions, and what drops from them on one Occasion, with what they say on another.

THE Defence of the Measures of the Administration, begins with an Acknowledgment, *That the Out-cries and Complaints against them are loud and numerous.* Had they given one Instance in History, or Experience (for now the Ministry speak themselves) to shew that ever that was the Case, without substantial Grounds and Foundation, they had made one Step towards satisfying some, and silencing others.

THE long Continuance of one Man, or Set of Men in the Ministry, may indeed raise the Envy of the Few, the very Few, whose Birth, Fortune, and Parts entitle them to a Share in the Government ; but while the Honour and Interests of the Nation are entire, and secure from Danger, the Multitude, who have no other Concern in the Distribution of Court-Favours, than to see them bestowed on Persons of Integrity and Abilities, will never take Part with them ; and consequently the Out-cries and Clamour of these Few can never be *loud and numerous.* Let those who oppos'd the

the Court in 1717, 1718, and 1719, reflect how vain their Attempts were to stir up and engage the Clamour of the People against the Administration they labour'd to calumniate and destroy.

SINCE this Confession, then, has drop'd from the Pens of these great Politicians, the Inference must necessarily be true, that there are *Defects*, there is a just *Foundation*, and that such *Out-cries* make strongly against the Abilities and Merit of a Ministry; and it confirms a just Observation, that the Opinion of the Multitude is seldom, if ever wrong.

BUT what follows? “*Hope and Dependence, which were their Supports at first, are chang'd into Despair and Revenge, and become their Obstacles at last.*

THIS can relate only to Persons upon whom a Minister has bountifully be ow'd Promises of Preferments and Rewards; or to the Hopes and Dependance of the People, that he will serve his Country with Ability and Integrity. But if, to provide for, and enrich his Creatures and Relations, he breaks his Faith to the first, shall not the World, with Justice, accuse him of

of Baseness and Perfidy ? And if through Want of Knowledge, or selfish and interested Views, he fails in the second, shall not his Country require at his Hands the Injuries, the Losses, and Insults they have suffer'd, and shall his thread-bare Artifices and Expedients, for ever, screen him from the dismal Effects of an enrag'd and disappointed People ?

THAT something of this Nature is dreaded, however it may be thought proper to dissemble these Fears, seems very plain from the frank Acknowledgment of one in high Station, said to be Author of the *Observations on the Craftsman*, publish'd in the *Daily Courant* of the 24th of December, who concludes his Declamation with these remarkable Words. "As long as such Freedoms of Writing and Speaking against the Measures of the Administration, are thought a necessary Part of our Liberty, so long, I hope, our Representatives will think a standing Army a necessary Part of our Constitution."

LET us put these two together in their own Words. * *The Popularity, if not the*

* Def. p. 6.

Authority of the Ministry is lessen'd thro' their long Continuance in the Administration ; and without a standing Army they cannot be supported.

A most comfortable Prospect to the People of *Great Britain*, whatever Light they take it in.

IT is found expedient in this Defence to fix the *Aera* of the Ministry's Power, to the Term of the Treaty of *Vienna*, in 1725. But if one Gentleman, who, without Offence, I hope, may be said to bear no small Share of the Merit of what has happen'd since, will take the Trouble to look into the Date of his Commission, he will find himself, I believe, of near four Years older standing than he wishes, or at least, cares to own at present. Upon due Reflection he will find too, that *Britain* enjoy'd all the Blessings of a profound Peace ; that we lived in a strict Union with the *Emperour* ; in good Terms with *France* and *Spain* ; that our Trade flourish'd, and met with no Interruption ; that we had a strong Interest in the Empire, independant of the *Emperour* ; that with a much smaller Number of Forces than we have now, no foreign Troops in *English* Pay, we were

were quiet at Home, and respected Abroad, when the Reins of Government drop'd into his Hands.

THESE *unpropitious Incidents*, these *ominous Conjunctions*, complain'd of, the Cloud that was ready to break and burst out Ruin upon *Britain*, must therefore have been suffer'd to gather and come to Maturity, during the Space of Time which is artfully sunk in the Defence.

WITH what *Wisdom* our *Affairs* were then conducted, * what *Opportunities* were neglected, and whether the *Measures* enter'd into were *distractive*, or not; how far our refusing the sole *Mediation* of a *Peace* between the *Emperour* and *Spain*, and the *Treatment* of the *Infanta*, gave *Occasion* and *Provocation* to this dangerous *Treaty*, has, at the Beginning of every *Session* of *Parliament*, for these four *Years* past, been in some *Measure* enquir'd into? And I leave it to the *World* to determine for what *Reasons* it is now judg'd adviseable,

* p. 8.

to deprive a great M—r of the Honour of having serv'd his Country during so considerable a Space of Time. Certain it is, that, all that while, he was in the same high Station, which he still enjoys.

W I T H what Truth then, with what Modesty is it affirm'd (p. 27.) That, " never was the Protestant Cause in " general in more Danger, than the " Gentlemen now in Power found it, ne- " ver was *England* nearer its Ruin, than " on their Coming to the Head of Af- " fairs ?

B U T to smother the Transactions of these Four Years, and, if possible, to bury them in Oblivion ; to render meritorious the Conduct of the Administration, the late Ministers are in this impartial Defence, most scandalously traduced, and most infamously slander'd.

T H E Wise, the Prudent, and steady Measures which they pursued, are treated as wild and extravagant, they are accus'd of Sloth and Negligence, * and of follow-

* p. 8.

ing

ing Counsels destructive to their Country,
and the Protestant Interest.

As they were not reputed only (as is said here) but acknowledg'd to be Men of uperious Parts and Learning, we are told (†) " that it's a Doubt whether " political Authors have not contributed " more to make bad, than good States-men.

BUT now rejoice, O happy Nation ! " You are bles'd with Men of such " Genius and Judgment, (*) as are truly capable of applying the fine Rules " of these Authors ! Who can distinguish " precisely how far they are true, and " when they suffer Exceptions.

" IT is a good general Maxim, for Instance, to go to War rather than suffer Insults ; yet our great Politicians have dis-covered that there are Cases in which plainly nothing would be more mischievous. They know, thank God, the Times and Seasons of putting up Affronts, and overlooking Injuries. O Fortunatam natam te. — Horace.

† p. 20.

* Ibid.

IT would be Injurious to the Memory of these great Men, upon this Occasion, when such — Comparisons are made, to enter into a J u l tification of their Conduct ; to mention the glorious Defeat of the *Spanish* Fleet ; the overthrow of the Minister, whose daring and extensive enter- prises threatened all *Europe* with Blood and Confusion, and occasioned that short liv'd Interruption of Amity (tho' not of our Commerce) with *Spain*, and their pro- curing to be replac'd in his Stead the Secretray of State, who was constantly attach'd to the Interest of *England*, their close Adherence to the *Maxims* of the grand Alliance, and wisely Maintaining the mutual Confidence so Necessary to sup- port it. Their Zeal in protecting the oppres'd Protestants in the Empire, and the memorable Treaty of *London*, which, had not more consummate Politicians succeeded them and overturn'd it, would have been an everlasting Bulwark to the Protestant Succession, and the Liberty of *Britain*.

THESE Ministers however, says this Gentleman, in a very reproachful Man- ner, contriv'd the Quarrel with *Spain*, and the *South-Sea* Project.

B

B U T,

BUT, did he understand any other Language besides his own, I could help him to a short History of these Times, writ by a Foreigner, that would shew him at once (for at that Time, perhaps, he was not in the Secret) the dangerous Tendency of *Alberoni's* Schemes, the surprizing Success of his Preparations to execute them, and the signal Proofs these Ministers gave, on that Occasion, of their Intrepidity, the wise, the noble, and disinterested Sentiments that shin'd thro' their whole Conduct.

He would see too, by the by, in that History an *English* Minister, like an old *Roman*, equally qualify'd for the Cabinet and the Field; the first in exposing himself to the Mercy of the Waves, and the Fire of the *Spaniards*, to animate the *French* Troops, and setting the first Torch to the Magazines and naval Stores of a Prince, who had, too rashly, dar'd to declare himself an Enemy to his King, and to his Country. He would see likewise the despicable Efforts of Rage and Disappointment, set forth in their liveliest Colours, and the Names of some, who

who envy'd, tho' they never could rival the Glory of these Ministers, in constant Opposition to the Interest and Honour of the Nation.

THERE too, is to be found the Source of all these Calumnies, this low and ungentlemanly Detraction.

BUT cannot the Measures of the Administration be defended without Libeling, and Aspersing the Memory of the Dead? And have these great Men, who deserv'd so well of their Country, no Friend left who has Influence enough to suppress, in a M — — Pamphlet, such false and unprofitable Abuse? If this be the Case, the World will still be of Opinion, " that pointing out one Gentleman, as the whole Administration, does not proceed from Malice, but from Truth.

I have heard too, that the Schemes of a certain Gentleman in Concert with the Bank, which must have ended in the same Manner as the Project that was gone into, lay'd the Ministry under an absolute Necessity

cessity of supporting the Proposals made by the South-Sea Company, in the Year 1720.

“ B U T the World does not so egregiously mistake the Talents and Characters of Men, as ever to forget his Method of delivering us from the Calamities of that Year, by Virtue of the memorable Bargain between these Two Companies, *contriv'd, transacted, witness'd, and declar'd void by the Means of the same Person.*”

I N a Word, it may truly be said that the late Ministers found the Protestant Cause in eminent Danger, and that they left it in great Security. But *Blundering* was never heard of in the Days of S——d, and S——pe.

T H E First Instance this Gentleman gives of the Vigilance and Success of the present Ministry, in tracing out, and effectually discovering that great Event, the Alliance between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, is really diverting, and much might be said upon that Head. But I shall content my self with putting him in Mind

Mind of the Surprize and Confusion, that broke out in the Countenances of some, upon the first certain Accounts of that Treaty. How long was that before Count S——g had Orders to notify it to his late Majesty ; or had these vigilant and successful Gentlemen, “ *in getting into the Cabinets of Princes*, seen a Copy of it ’till it was communicated to them in Form by that Ambassador.

A great Pother is here made about the Honour due to those whose *happy Applications to the Interests, Tempers, and Understanding of Men* prevented France from giving into the Views of our Enemies, as they are call’d, and of curbing the Warlike Dispositions of the Cardinal de Fleuri.

He, without Dispute, He alone, whose Peerless Art, Politeness, and Address effected this great Work, was capable to dissuade a French Minister from forwarding a Match which would have united, under the same Monarch, Spain and the Empire ; or (if the Author of the Enquiry coin’d a Lye to frighten us) to contribute in any Respect towards the Aggrandizement of the House of Austria. According to the System

System of Politicks lately discover'd, it is, and perhaps, always was the Interest of France so to do. But then he, the same he, who lugg'd about the Cardinal like a Pair of —, kept France from accedeing to a Treaty contriv'd by Spain, and purchas'd at so extravagant a Price, chiefly to be reveng'd of France, for the Affront given in sending back the *Infanta*, in the shocking Manner it was done. “ *This I presume, cannot be said to be among these Things which any Person might have done as well, no Sir, give me leave to assure you that it is no easy Thing to blunder after this Manner.* ”

Now was the Administration, says our Author, * during the Progress of these salutary and arduous Negotiations, regardless of the Interest of the Nation in other Respects.

HOSIER was sent with a Fleet to the *West-Indies*, “ The Scheme was, not to make ourselves Masters of the Cargo

" of the Galleons, tho' we had it in our
 " Power, but to suffer our Ships to rot
 " there ; *This was necessary* : And to allow
 " Part of the Treasure to pass thro' our
 " Squadron, whilst *Gibraltar* was besieг'd ;
 " *This was Politick.* For great Care was taken
 " not to injure our Enemies, or aggravate
 " Matters by any malicious Hostility ; but
 " rather bearing some small Violences, such as
 " the Siege of *Gibraltar*, and taking our
 " Merchants Ships wherever they met them.
 " This unprecedented Conduct sprung,
 " surely, from the best and weightiest Reasons
 " that *Wisdom* itself could dictate.

Y E T so malicious is the wicked World
 as to turn this most profound Wisdom
 into Ridicule ; and so impudent are some
 as to call it downright Blundering and
 Folly. But these rash Men do not con-
 sider that the Folly of Ministers is prefer-
 able to the Wisdom of those who have
 no Title to dive into the Mysteries of the
 Administration.

T H E Idleness of prying into Things
 above our Reach is plainly evinc'd in this
 impartial Defence. It is prov'd, to a De-
 monstration,

monstration, * that thro' this whole Scene, *France* has been our Bubble. "Their Arms, their Embassies, and their Treasures have been all this while, according to this Author, employ'd in our Service. If this is so, I humbly beg Leave to ask how it came to pass that *France* refus'd to declare War against *Spain*, when so strenuously insisted upon by the *Favourite Ambassador*? The Siege of *Gibraltar*, if Credit is to be given to what he says, was *Casus Fæderis*, by Virtue of a Declaration he prevail'd with them to sign some Months before that Siege happen'd? Yet some have had the Impudence to affirm, that he was laugh'd at and ridicul'd by the *French Ministers*, when he seem'd to be startled at their Refusal to fulfil their Engagement. And if their Treasures were employ'd for our Service, how came we to pay Part of the Subsidy to the *Danish Troops*, which, in Consequence of the Treaty of *Hanover*, *France* was to be at all the Charge of?

THO' these be Facts, the Questions may nevertheless be very idle and impertinent.

BUT, had the *French*, in reality, been as much our *Dupes*, as we are given to understand, is it prudent at this Time to tell them so? I can conceive the Meaning of pretending “*That our Interests and politick Views are so interwoven and blended with theirs, that it is scarce possible for us to differ, or seperate.*” That Part of the Pamphlet, skilfully translated, and transmitted to *France*, on a proper Occasion, might, for a Time, palliate other Views, and with the Help of strong *Asseverations*, keep Matters right there, ‘till *Submissions* for former Ill-usage, and the Power of *Entreaties* procur’d us a new Ally. “*The first therefore I cannot think necessary; the last may perhaps be Politick.*”

“*AS to the Weight and Credit the Minister is said to have in the Councils of France,*” I humbly beg leave to offer this Caution; That One of the Articles of Impeachment against the Duke of *Suffolk* was, “*His having made his Boasts, in Presence of many Lords, that his Influence and Credit at the Court of France, was no less than at that of England.*”

THIS therefore I take to be an Over-sight of the Copyer, or a Typographical Error.

BUT much Labour is bestow'd to convince us that one of the chief Cares of the Ministry has been to reduce the Power of the Emperour. 'Till now I have always been accustomed to hear and did really believe that the Power of the House of *Austria* was constantly Beneficial, and never could be hurtful to *Britain*. But that, I suppose, is one of these antiquated *Machiavilian* Maxims which the System of Politicks, now in Vogue, has but quite out of Date.

TO this System we owe a Lesson entirely new, that the Conduct of Nations towards Nations, is founded upon the *strong Ties* of Gratitude and Obligations.

* I must likewise acknowledge my self a thorough Infidel to this refin'd Way of thinking; and as all Confidence among the antient Allies of *England* is now lost, and, by this Defence, seems to

be utterly laid aside and disregarded ; and consequently the grand Alliance, which, 'till now, I have thought the only Security of the Protestant Succession, and the Liberty of *Britain*, is broke and dissolv'd ; I must still hope that the new Security, which we are told, we have got in the Room of it, rests upon stronger and more solid Foundations, than the *Gratitude of Spain* for a *Treaty unexecuted*, and Advantages not yet obtain'd ; or the imaginary Influence and Credit of any Minister in the Measures and Councils of *France*.

P O S T-

POSTSCRIP.

I Must beg Leave to ask one more Question. In giving an Account of the trifling Expence we have been at, in purchasing the happy Situation, the blessed Security we enjoy, it is said that, besides the Powers of the *North*, (*Sweden* and *Denmark*, I know, we pay, and the *Muscovites* — are a barbarous Sort of a Nation) the Protestant Estates of the Empire are closely united for the Support of *England*. *

THE *Hessians* and the Duke of *Wolfembutel* we are well acquainted with, and we have heard of the King of *Prussia*, and the *Saxons* ; but it would give vast Satisfaction to know where the Territories of these other Princes, and Estates are situated.

* p. 23.

A P O S.

A POSTILE.

SINCE the foregoing *Remarks* were publish'd, another Ministerial Piece has appear'd, Entitl'd, *Considerations on the Present State of Affairs in Europe*, and I cannot help taking Notice of some new Things it contains.

WE are told by the *Defender* to what Degree *France* has been our *Bubble*, and we have now Assurances, of uncontested Authority, that we trick'd *Spain* into the Treaty of *Seville*, † by making arrant Dupes of the Imperial Ministers.

IT is indeed wonderful, that a Truth so Honourable and Advantagious to the Administration, should have been sunk and suppress'd in a Pamphlet, publish'd at the Opening of the last Session of Parliament, writ by an intimate Friend

† *Considerations, &c.* p. 30, 31.

and

and Aequaintance of this Author, and Entitl'd, *The Treaty of Seville and the Measures that have been taken for the four last Years impartially consider'd.* But however that is, I hope, Historians will now give over making that injurious Remark that *England* looses more by Treaties than she gains by Wars.

IT is to be hop'd too, that the Court of *Vienna* will not endeavour to return the Compliment and make Reprisals in the Treaty, now said to be on Foot, and that there never will be the leaft Foundation for calling this Treaty another Temporary Expedient.

IT is likewise to be hop'd that the Misunderstanding about the *Schedula* for the *South Sea-Ship*, and the Time of the Fair ; and the Works lately begun at *Giberaltar*, did not proceed from the *Spaniards* opening their Eyes and Beginning to be sensible that they were too easily wheedled into the Treaty of *Seville*.

BUT as our being forsaken by the *French*, abandon'd by the *Dutch*, deserted by

by Spain, and the World; in a Word, thrown into utter Confusion, * depends upon the *Hessians* being continued, no Man, who has the Interest, or Honour of his Country at Heart, can, surely be against it.

* Consider. p. 52.

F I N I S.